MOTHER EARTH

Vol. IX. February, 1915 No. 12

The Gunman—On guard to see that property remains stolen

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MOTHER EARTH

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Vol. IX **FEBRUARY, 1915** **No. 12**

HYMN OF THE WAR KINGS

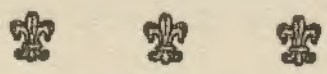
God of destruction, ruin, death,
Keep and attend us, helpmate be;
Grant that we blast with fiery breath
Our brother's men on land and sea;
Let us at last be set on high,
Kings over lands where poor fools bled!
Nor empty-handed do we cry—
Our offerings will be the dead.

Help the poor conscripts that we send
Into the battle's seething hell
To carve a path we may ascend.
What if they die then? It is well—
Their mangled corpses on the field
Will be for Thee our harvesting.
Will it not be a wholesome yield,
God of the battles, that we bring?

What is it, Lord, to Thee and us,
If famine stalk and starved mouths cry;
What is it, Lord, to Thee and us,
If families of these driven die;
If it so be that by such wrack
Thou hast Thy bleeding sacrifice?
If it so be that by such wrack
We are exalted in our eyes?

God of starvation, rapine, lust,
Grim-visaged Lord of all things dire,
With victory our arms intrust,
And we will kindle Thee a fire!
The smoke of it shall sullen rise,
Its incense shall be sweet to Thee,
Its flame shall lick Thy greasy skies—
Yea, ruined earth is fair to see!

—GERALD B. BREITIGAM.



TO OUR FRIENDS

WITH this issue, MOTHER EARTH closes an eventful and interesting career of nine years. How difficult her struggle and painful her climb, only those closely connected with the magazine can possibly realize. MOTHER EARTH has survived. She has asserted herself. She has not been daunted. She is being heard! We will have more to say about our baby, when she launches out on her tenth pilgrimage. For the present, we only wish to thank our friends who have helped us in the past, and who can do so much in the future.

First, there is our Red Revel, February 20. All the faithfuls of MOTHER EARTH, and we hope many others, will come together in the Red International at Lenox Casino, 116th street and Lenox avenue. We call on all those who still have red revolutionary blood left to join us in a joyous manifestation that the International spirit still lives, regardless of the blunders and the crimes committed against her in the trenches of Europe. Come all ye heavily laden with disappointment, discouragement, despair! Let us proclaim to the world "Sie bewegt sich doch!"

We have just bound in a dozen sets of the nine volumes. Who will be the first to order a set? Do not be content with owning all your copies complete. There are many people and libraries, who could use such a valuable collection. Then, too, in purchasing the bound volumes, you will help us with the special edition of the first issue of our tenth year, which we are planning. Who will send the first birthday gift of twenty dollars for the set, including postage?

The March issue will be a special number of sixty-four pages, containing contributions fom our friends abroad and at home; expression as to what MOTHER EARTH means to them. Advance bundle orders at regular rates are in place now.

Last, but not least, MOTHER EARTH will have a birthday party, on Sunday evening, March 7. As our magazine has always pleaded for the unity of creative art and revolution, we will combine on this evening, music, classic dancing, dramatic reading and oratory, harmoniously blended, to send MOTHER EARTH on her path of new adventures, deeper knowledge, fine feeling, and above all, lustier battle against false gods. Long live the indomitable will of our fighter, MOTHER EARTH!

EMMA GOLDMAN.

NOTICE TO OLD SUBSCRIBERS.

We are binding the volumes of Mother Earth, and we are short in many copies. Friends possessing the same would favor us greatly if they would send us any of the following: Vol. I, April, May, June, July, August, September, December and January; Vol. II, January, July, March, August, September, November; Vol. III, April, May, June, November, December; Vol. IV, November and January; Vol. V, May and August; Vol. VI, June, July and December; Vol. VII, June; Vol. VIII, January.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

THE echo of the agonized cries of women and children burned alive at Ludlow have hardly subsided, when a new wail grips our hearts—the groans of the wounded and dying workers of Roosevelt, N. J. The killing of strikers on the slightest provocation has become an everyday occurrence in America, so much so that the public has grown callous and indifferent to this common practice. It is only when the murderous methods are as utterly uncalled for and as unexpected as was used by the William Clark Fertilizer Company that the public begins to rub its eyes in wonderment as to whether this is really America, or darkest Russia. Even our own antediluvian neighbor, the New York Times, feels called upon to say that the cold-blooded crime at Roosevelt was "a horrible blunder." Nevertheless this editorial writer has the temerity to excuse the "blunder" on the ground that

> "Unfortunately, New Jersey labor organizations have made a bad reputation for themselves, having

in their membership a large element of anarchistic tendencies."

It is to expect the impossible from the editor of the "Times" that he should know that, if the New Jersey labor organizations were really imbued with "anarchistic tendencies," the workers would at least have resisted the thugs who attacked them so savagely. The pathos of labor organizations in New Jersey, and in fact, all over the country, is that they are so pitifully timid, so much in awe of law and its hirelings.

If only the workers were imbued with the revolutionary spirit; if only they were impelled by anarchistic tendencies; if only they were conscious of their economic power, they would soon stop the indignities, and outrages and crimes, heaped on them by the American Black Hundreds at the behest of American Tzars.

* * *

THE Roosevelt incident is used by the reactionary press as one more instance of the necessity of a State Constabulary, because "special guards are not regular officers of the law and have not been disciplined to act with discretion." In the face of such an argument, it is difficult to say whether the apologists for an army of Cossacks are so blatantly ignorant, or whether they wilfully close their eyes to facts.

The militia of Colorado are "regular officers of the law, they have been disciplined to act with discretion." Did that prevent them from setting fire to the inhabited tents of the miners? Did that stop them from shooting Pico in the back? Did that interfere with their reign of terror in Colorado?

As to the regular officers of the law, disciplined to act with discretion, the Pennsylvania Constabulary, its history is written in the blood of the workers. Any one at all conversant with the activities of these "regular officers" know that they are the terror of their communities, the henchmen of the propertied.

That the servants of the moneyed class should clamor for the benevolence of a constabulary is natural. But what are the workers going to do about it? Submit as usual, and then issue whining protests when the Cossaks use their lash? Now is the time to make a stand, an organized, determined stand against this black spectre, which is looming high on labor's horizon.

THAT action speaks louder than words has never before been demonstrated with greater force than in the nationwide interest in the unemployed. Statesmen, politicians, social workers, college professors, money magnates and what not have suddenly awakened to the situation of vast masses of humanity, homeless and breadless, amid plenty. But yesterday, they knew not of the existence of unemployment. What has brought about this marvelous change of heart? What has induced such arch-exploiters as Judge Gary, such brutal sponsors of the big stick as Theodore Roosevelt, such ultra respectable ladies and gentlemen of the Municipal Civic Service League, the Mayor's Committee, the various churches, to become so deeply solicitous of the welfare of the unemployed? Action, not words! The action of Frank Tannenbaum, his raids on the churches, and his "J'accuse" of their hypocrisy; the action of the group of workers with Alexander Berkman, Joe O'Carroll, Arthur Caron and others in their defiance of the authorities; the Lexington Avenue and other explosions; all these have evidently sent terror into the craven hearts of the well-fed and the complacent—hence their interest, their solicitude!

But what does it all amount to? Only greater humiliation, degradation and dependence for the workers; nothing else. Fortunately many of the unemployed are beginning to see through the flimsy veil of Christian philanthrophy. They are no longer content with the crumbs thrown to them from the tables of wealth. They will not scab on their brothers on municipal jobs at $1.25 a day. They are demanding a share in the good things of life. They are getting ready to take that, by their very necessity belongs to them.

The workers alone, whether in or out of a job, can solve the unemployed problem, and the only way to solve it is to kick their masters off their backs.

* * *

THE Rip Van Winkles of the Police Department are certainly to be found in Chicago. Everywhere the authorities are learning that clubbing and arresting starving humans only aggravates the situation. The only ones who refuse to learn are the Chicago police. The

other day, they clubbed and arrested Lucy Parsons and twenty other participants in an unemployed meeting. The trouble with the Chicago police is that they are still clinging to the ragged edge of their criminal glory of 1887. Will they ever wake up to the fact that time has not stood still, even if they have? They ought to get busy, or they will be swept upon the dungheep, where all such rubbish belongs.

* * *

THE self-righteous American indignation over German atrocities in Belgium has received a heavy blow from one of America's own army men, Captain Edwin Emerson. In his address before the American Institute in Berlin, the Captain gave emphasis to the fact that all talk of neutrality, as far as warring states are concerned, is bunkum. Elaborating on a number of historic incidents both in American and English warfare, he pointed out that the American soldiers in the Philippines have acted exactly as the Germans in Belgium; equally so America cared little about the neutrality of Mexico "when she occupied Vera Cruz, or of Nicaragua and Colombia, when she took possession of the Panama Canal." As to England's indignation, Captain Emerson justly says that she has never done anything else, except invade, coerce and subdue neutral nations, and among numerous examples, he cited the bombardment of Alexandria, and the invasion of "neutral" Egypt, the raid of Dr. Jameson into the neutral Boer republic. "Truth is that England does not care a fig about any neutrality, wherever her own interest is concerned."

We of MOTHER EARTH are too deeply imbued with the spirit of Internationalism to be pro-German, or pro any of the warring countries. We are, as we have always been, pro the German, French, Belgian, Russian, and English people who are paying with their lives for the power and greed of their rulers. In quoting Captain Emerson, we merely wish our readers to learn direct from one of the sceneshifters of militarism itself how truly farcical all government pretension about neutrality is.

* * *

MAINLY is this true of the American proclamation of neutrality. The very day the stupid public mur-

mured compulsory prayers for peace, the Carnegie Schwab steel mills worked overtime to supply the warring countries with steel plates and guns. The other day two twelve-inch guns, fifty-three inches long, seventy-five tons in weight, were shipped to Germany on the Cunard liner Orduna. And while four million Americans are out of work, facing hunger and cold, neutral America is rushing tons of foodstuffs to keep the soldiers of Europe in good fighting trim. That is the hypocrisy of American neutrality.

* * *

IN the tragic case of Ida Sniffen Rogers, the cruelty and inhumanity of the good and the righteous are again brought to the fore. Not satisfied with the suffering of the woman, with her own life in danger, and the great agony that must be hers over the loss of her children, she must needs be put on trial because the Shylock state demands his pound of flesh, and the still greedier Shylock, morality, insists on crushing a human soul. Yes, the cruelty of the righteous, how relentlessly it slays, how utterly blind it is to the complexities of life.

Ida Sniffen's terrible crime, which the law and morality will not tolerate, is that she loved too well, and loving as she did, she could not endure the secrecy, the lying and the cheating, love without legal sanction necessitates today. Had she been free in her own mind, she would have faced the world squarely and would have said, "my life, my love, my body are my own to give to whom I will. Mind your own business!" But Ida Sniffen was not free enough to be brave; neither was she vulgar enough like many of her respectable sisters to content herself with sham and pretense. That is the crime our hypocritical society never forgives; therefore the moral wrath wreaked upon Ida Sniffen.

From the point of view of the law, all would have been well if Ida Sniffen had exposed her children to the tender mercies of the state, the foundling asylums, the charity organizations, the institutions that mutilate the human body and mar the human spirit. But because she robbed them of their prey, she will be placed in the criminal dock, with good Christian men to try her, and with righteous public opinion to judge her! If ours were

a sane world, her children would still be alive and she be free to enjoy her love and motherhood, as her right and glory. But ours is a mad world, and it is its perverted morality, its sleek righteousness, its oily puritanism which stand condemned, and not Ida Sniffen Rogers.

* * *

THERE appears in our city a weekly publication, "The New Republic," which should be read by all advanced people. Although most of its editors have graduated from the stuffy atmosphere of parlor Socialism and the exaggerated importance of social settlement work, they are worth reading for they can at least write, which is more than can be said of the bulk of newspaper editors. Also they have unearthed from the ruins a fresh and breezy tone of the American plains, a tone sadly needed in American journalism. That they should be guilty of such a commonplace as this, I quote this from "The New Republic:

> "From Bakunin to the McNamaras and Alexander Berkman, the terrorist has been more of a nuisance to the labor movement than to the social order which in his fatuous feebleness he hoped to replace."

is, of course, lamentable. We have a right to expect from the sponsors of a new republic that they should know that the Bakunins, McNamaras, or the Berkmans are in fact the only force that has made history. However, we welcome "The New Republic." May it increase in wider knowledge and truer understanding of those who have cried in the wilderness of American ideas, long before these striplings were even conceived.

THE FUTILITY OF INVESTIGATIONS

By STELLA COMYN

FOR the past two weeks the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations have been in session at City Hall. Capitalist, philanthropist, educator, labor leader have followed one another on the stand; all conscious that the searchlight of public opinion was on them —all testifying, not to what they really believe, but to conciliate that powerful force. With every newspaper

devoting columns of space to the hearing, with an interested and tense audience, composed mostly of men and women who have fought in labor's battles, Rockefeller, Schiff, Guggenheim, Belmont, Berwind, Perkins and others were for democracy and democratic institutions, for the right of men to organize lawfully—lip service to that monster, public opinion!

Their amazing ignorance of the conditions affecting the lives of their employees, their hours of work, wages and other vital matters would astonish one not familiar with the convenient evasions of captains of industry when they are brought into the limelight. As one sits in the crowded roof, watching these men with such power over the lives of tens of thousands of men and women, hearing their frivolous replies to questions bearing on the most tragic needs and primitive rights of the workers, one feels the utter futility of such investigations, and the whole scene takes on an aspect of unreality.

Nor are the so-called labor leaders more effective. They, too, even more self-conscious of public opinion than the chosen of the master class, loudly proclaim their belief in law and order, virtuously insist on the punishment of men, who have committed acts in defense of the cause of labor, though they plainly show that where a big corporation controls labor and its vital needs, it controls the officers of the law and the law itself. Both Gompers and John R. Lawson of Colorado, the latter with nineteen indictments against him, believe in obeying the law implicitly, and if a bad law, to try to appeal or amend it. Intimidated, like their more powerful brethren, they, too, evade and compromise before the Commission, and the likeness between capitalist and labor leader is striking.

For instance, one hears such interesting testimony as that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., does not know the number of employees in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, that the men work twelve hours a day, how employees' families are compensated for the injury to or death of the wage earners, the hiring of gunmen, the check-off system in the company's stores, the political corruption, such as keeping the Sheriff of the county in office for sixteen successive years, controlling education by appointing the company's teachers; nor does he even know

the causes of the Colorado strike. He has never had time to look into these things, though, of course, he knows that his father turned over 500 shares of his stock in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company to the Rockefeller Foundation. Of course, he will investigate. He will keep on investigating, until public attention has turned to something else.

As an interesting prelude to Rockefeller's statements on the stand, Samuel Gompers, some days previous, offered in evidence a brochure, addressed to big corporations and business men, issued by the R. J. Couch Detective Agency of Cleveland, Ohio, which states that eight-tenths of its business is done for such corporations, that their men are ready to act as deputy sheriffs and strike-breakers in case of trouble, and as spies in open shops, when the men are at work, and that these men this company furnishes can be transported from one state to another. It specifies in detail how the detectives employed discharge these various offices to which they are detailed. Gompers declared that he actually believes in the strike, as a healthy manifestation of the human struggle—a surprising statement from the head of organized labor!

How easily content the worker becomes when given what he calls a fair wage, and a share of the profits, was told by Henry Ford of Detroit, and especially how well it paid the employer of labor in dividends when he follows this policy; how even convicts were law-abiding citizens when they had the chance.

The large Foundations, like the Rockefeller and Russell Sage, are also being investigated by the Commission, particularly the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Eliot, former President of Harvard, now in the employ of the Rockefeller Foundation, said that the trouble was not with the colossal fortunes monopolies were heaping up for fewer and fewer individuals at the expense of the mass, but that the masses ate too much, and told of how a large family on Mt. Desert Island in Maine lived on $250 a year. R. Fulton Cutting of the Bureau of Municipal Research, had to admit that the Rockefeller Foundation offered $20,000 to the Bureau, if it would drop its investigations. Amos Pinchot, the only man, uncon-

scious of the gallery, and who seemed anxious to state his convictions, pointed out clearly the danger of such Foundations to our universities and other educational institutions to which they contribute, how they must inevitably defend the ideas of the monopolist, who supports them, how in the end it means death to the free expression of free individuals. He also said that unless a great change took place, and there were jobs competing for men, instead of men for jobs, conditions would grow worse.

A fortnight of hard work and serious endeavor on the part of the Commissioners, an expectant audience on the whole eagerly hoping for some enlightenment, yet not a word of significance has been spoken, nor a ghost of a solution suggested. It is not in the Chambers of Federal Investigation Committees that the question between Capital and Labor can be settled.

THE SANGER CASE

ON Tuesday, January 19th, William Sanger was arrested in his studio in New York by Anthony Comstock. The "crime" with which Mr. Sanger was charged was that of having handed to a visitor, a few days previously, a copy of a pamphlet on "Family Limitation," written by Mrs. Sanger. The visitor had represented himself as an honest inquirer and as a member of the Socialist Party.

The arrest is an outrage and should be resented by every fair-minded man and woman. Anthony Comstock, self-appointed censor of our morals, appears once more as a man who is ready to steal upon his victims like a thief in the night and to use any weapon, however dirty, to accomplish his purposes. He may have a "case," in the present instance, from the viewpoint of our absurd and antiquated laws, but he has no case whatever in the real Court of Reason.

America is now almost the only civilized country in which it is "against the law" to discuss the most vital and important sex-questions. For thirty-seven years *The Malthusian* has been disseminating in England, without hindrance from the Government, information regard-

ing the prevention of conception. In France a number of Malthusian journals are published, and the movement in favor of limitation of offspring has widespread and influential support. Malthusian leagues have been organized in Spain, Italy, Germany, South America and even in Africa. In this country, despite the pioneer efforts of Dr. E. B. Foote and others, and despite the almost universal willingness of physicians to impart "confidential" information by word of mouth, the Malthusian movement is still weak and almost negligible.

Margaret Sanger deserves great credit for the work she has done as educator and as agitator in this field. Her husband has—as it happens, unwittingly—raised an issue of immense importance. His case is being handled in the courts by Gilbert E. Roe. All who are interested in the issue at stake and who want to rebuke Mr. Comstock's latest insolence are asked to communicate with MOTHER EARTH or with the President of the Free Speech League, Leonard D. Abbott, 241 East 201st Street, New York City.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

TO THE ANTI-MILITARISTS, ANARCHISTS, AND FREE THINKERS

AT this most earnest time, when the whole of society seems to be disrupted, we also want to raise our voice which has as much right to be heard as that of the other parties. For it was indeed we who have ever been the only ones who opposed militarism under the motto, "Not a single man and not a single penny for militarism." All the other parties, from the clerical to the Social Democrats, have always been in favor of militarism. They have proved it again and again by voting for the military budgets, thus enabling the governments to carry on war, because without money no soldiers are to be had.

For twenty-five years we have been propagating the only practical means to make war impossible: the proclamation of the *General Strike in case of war,* and the *International Boycott of the powers at war.*

The proletariat alone, or the producing workers, have

it in their power to stop or to hinder war in a practical manner. Shortly before the threatened war, the International Socialist Bureau gathered in session at Brussels. That was the appropriate moment for a practical resolution, namely, to answer the order for mobilization with a general strike.

Undoubtedly the leaders in the different countries would have been arrested, perhaps executed. That is possible; but in such a case they would have died on the field of honor, and a grateful humanity would have remembered them as benefactors, rather than if they had fallen on the bloody field of war. There is no choice; either one has a principle, or none. If we have a principle we must serve it with loyalty, and die for it if necessary; otherwise we have no principle. Many would have been sacrificed, but in any case not as many as will be demanded by the war. And those who would have been sacrificed would have died in a noble, beautiful cause, and not to further the power of the capitalist class. And if it is objected that the party was too weak, then we ask, "How do we know that? Have we ever tried it?" If not, then an attempt should have been made.

Every revolution in the history of the past was initiated, not by the majorities, but by the minorities; but unfortunately it has been proven true what Schiller once said, "Our century gave birth to a great epoch, but the great moment found a petty generation."

In Brussels they delivered themselves of beautiful, brilliant speeches; but what was necessary were not samples of oratory but deeds. Lassale very truly said that the princes are served better than the people: the servants of the princes are not orators like the servants of the people, but practical men who know how to act. Quite true; and therefore in decisive moments the people talk and do not act. The Brussels Congress could have done something else if they lacked the courage for militant action. Instead of brilliant talks, they could have issued an explanation to be read in the different parliaments of the various countries when the demand for war appropriations was made. That explanation should have read as follows:

"We, the Social Democrats, declare that we have not the least responsibility for the misdeeds of the governments, and we hereby announce that we do not want to become participants in the manslaughter of war. They, the governments, have directed the ship of state into a swamp, and they will have to pull it out again without our assistance; and we therefore declare ourselves against the war appropriations and resign our commission as representatives of the people to clear ourselves from all criminal responsibility."

I ask what effect would such an attitude have had upon the people? One hundred and twelve vacant places in the German Parliament, 102 vacant places in the French Chambers, and similarly in Austria, Belgium, Holland, England—the effect would have been tremendous. They would have proved that they are men who could be relied upon.

The Italian Social Democratic Party acted much better. They informed the government that they would, in case of a war with Germany and Austria, proclaim a revolution. This argument has to a great extent helped to keep Italy neutral. Even the attitude of the Russian Social Democracy was more courageous than that of the Germans: the representatives protested against the war, and left the assembly hall. They did not want to vote for the government war budget, as did the German Social Democracy, which made common cause with the Kaiser. A party so powerful as the German Social Democracy, with four and one-half million votes, knew nothing better to do than to offer voluntarily its services to the government, without having the least influence upon the situation.

The national idea has everywhere suppressed internationalism, and thus the latter has everywhere suffered defeat. Here, too, it holds good: Scratch internationalism, and you find nationalism underneath. Must we therefore remain passive, weep and helplessly wring our hands? On the contrary, now is the best time for a fruitful propaganda, for the ears of the masses are open to listen to our ideas. Twelve million women have voiced their protest to the Ambassador and to the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey. That is a good

beginning, and it should continue. If the twelve million women should throw themselves between the fighting armies, what would be the result? Wouldn't the further continuation of the war become impossible? What would be the effect if the transport workers, the railroad and coal workers should combine to make the war impossible, as they combined in Great Britain to secure higher wages! These three industries could, if they would, make an end to the gigantic crime of human slaughter.

Indeed, there is much to be done. Our voices as anti-militarists, as Anarchists and free thinkers must be raised much louder and more powerfully in all the countries where burns the torch of the war, and also where the torch is still to be lit.

Instead of "Not a man and not a penny for militarism" we see the last man and the last penny taken from us, and we meekly submit. We lack the courage to fight for our own interest, but we have enough of it to protect the coffers of the capitalists. How long yet?

In Amsterdam we found it necessary, in these ambiguous days, to make clear our position, and to present to the world the following manifesto:

"In view of the declared European war—the result of capitalism, made possible by militarism, which sets the people of Europe against each other in armed camps—this gathering energetically protests against the horrible human slaughter that defies all culture and humanity, and also protests emphatically against international Christianity, as well as the international Social Democracy, both of which misuse their influence with the people to cultivate national prejudices and antagonisms.

In view of the circumstance that each day might see the invasion of Holland by a foreign army,

and that the wage worker has no quarrel with the workers of other nations,

and that he has no interest in the defense of arbitrary boundary lines, nor in the preservation of ruling dynasties or of any existing régime,

and that he is doomed to a miserable existence and poverty under any and all flags and governments, and that under no government will he enjoy greater rights

and well-being, than he has the power and courage to take;

in further consideration that the defense of boundary lines involves greater misery and destruction than no defense, and that demonstrative refusal to defend would probably result in a more powerful inspiration toward peace;

that in any case the insignificant material possessions and the petty political liberties which the Holland worker enjoys are not worth the shedding of human blood,

and that under a different government the struggle of the proletariat, even if possibly made more difficult, must at the same time also be furthered, and in no case hindered,

and considering, finally, that to defend boundary lines, under whatever pretext, would henceforth preclude and make impossible agitation against any form of militarism,

and that the struggle against militarism is of the utmost importance, because militarism, as an organized power, is the strongest weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

This gathering declares itself ready to continue its struggle against every economic and political oppression, and energetically to further the cause of liberty and well-being with the old tried methods, but protests emphatically against the spilling of human blood in defense of nationality, by leaving each one free to act according to circumstance.

DOWN WITH NATIONAL HATRED!
AWAY WITH BOUNDARY LINES!
DOWN WITH WAR!
LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF WORKERS!

F. DOMELA NIEUVENHUIS.

* * *

6 Argyle Place,
Carlton, Victoria, Australia,
November 12th, 1914.

Dear Comrade: I was pleased to hear from you. I like your clear, fearless, uncompromising articles on the war. Your answer to Comrade Kropotkin is honest. We are either Internationalist Revolutionalists or Authoritarians. To face both ways is impossible. I regret to think that after all these years, having accepted Kro-

potkin as teacher and guide, he should so disappoint us. I feel oppressed.

We cannot join the selfish brutes who exploit us, who make life a hell in time of peace; who maim and kill us without the least compunction, when we in any way interfere with their beastly existence. Where is the Country and Liberty we are to defend? Echo answers, "Where?" The rulers are brutes, whether English, French, German, Russian or Belgian.

War without compromise against these oppressors! How we would welcome death in defense of a Free Country! But, alas! there is none. So all or nothing! No weakness! Long live Anarchy!

With kindest regards to you, true comrade,

J. W. FLEMING.

* * *

London, January 13th, 1915.

EMMA GOLDMAN, New York.

Dear Comrade: Your letter and the $37.00 to hand. Many thanks for your good work for the "Worker's Friend." That at the present we need the help of all our friends you will understand. Not only are we short of money, but our friend and editor is arrested for the last six weeks. What this means for us you can imagine. But we will go on with the publication of the paper and keep it as an anti-war and anti-militarist Anarchist journal. Our comrade, Rocker, was for years the soul of the paper and we have a hard struggle to get it out without him. We are trying our best to get Rocker out, but we don't know if our efforts will be successful.

With fraternal greetings.

S. LINDER.

(We have since collected $9.00 in Albany and $13.00 in New York, both at Emma Goldman's meetings.—Ed. M. E.)

DEATH OF ANSELMO LORENZO

WITH much regret we announce the death of our well-known Spanish comrade, Anselmo Lorenzo, who died suddenly on November 30. In a letter to James Guillaume, published in *La Bataille Syndi-*

caliste, his daughter Marina says that her father's last days were much saddened by the regret which he felt at the bellicose opinions of some of his Anarchist friends, for whom he had a lively affection and a great admiration. "At eight in the evening before he died he sent to some friends a manuscript for *Almanaque Obrera* (Workers' Almanac"). He rose to work the next day, but fainted, and died at 4.30 p. m. "That was a death such as he used to desire," says his daughter. The following notes are taken from *Solidaridad Obrera,* of Barcelona (December 3):

Born on April 21, 1841, in Toledo, of a working-class family, and receiving the defective education given to the workers, Anselmo Lorenzo was apprenticed to a firm of printers in Madrid.

At that time the influence of the International movement had not yet reached Madrid; and, feeling his humanity and his courage stirred against government oppression, Lorenzo fought ardently in the ranks of the Federal Republican party, which then represented in Spain the people's aspiration for liberty and the maximum of progress in the realm of politics.

In the library he made the acquaintance of the works of Proudhon, and gleaned extracts from Fourier, neither of whose works were in circulation in Spain at that time. His mental outlook and his disposition were much influenced by the journal *La Discusion,* in which the celebrated Pi y Margall published his Socialistic principles, which, later in life, he revoked.

With his mind thus prepared, Lorenzo met Fanelli, who was in Madrid as delegate of the so-called "Democratic Alliance" (with anti-Parliamentary principles) to found the Spanish section of the International Working Men's Association. The section was founded, and, the impulse which Lorenzo, with his enthusiasm and activity, gave to it, there began for the first time in Spain the open dissemination of internationalist ideas, which were welcomed from the first moment by the Spanish workers as the hope of approaching economic and political liberation. In 1870, Lorenzo was instrumental in bringing about the publication of *Solidaridad.* This work of propaganda in a country already shaken by the revolution-

ary spirit was bound to bear fruit; and as a matter of fact in a short time it was marked by the institution of various "organizations of resistance."

In June, 1870, the first Spanish Labor Congress was held in Barcelona, with Lorenzo brilliantly to the fore. His opinion on "The International in Relation to Politics" gained the united approbation of the assembly. Comrade Lorenzo was nominated a member of the Federal Committee of the Spanish Region.

A few days after the constitution of the committee the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 broke out, and this event gave occasion to the Spanish Regional Federation to hold a demonstration in favor of human brotherhood, and to publish a manifesto from the pen of Lorenzo, in which he lashed the barbarism of the governments which launched their respective peoples into useless slaughter provoked by two tyrants.

It had been a custom every year in Madrid to hold a patriotic festival on May 2, during which popular brutality was exercised against the few Frenchmen who, not knowing the custom, ventured into the streets. The Federal Committee wanted to put an end to such a savage custom, and so determined to hold a fraternal tea, with both French and Spanish guests.

The government now began to take serious notice of the organization, on the suggestion of the political press, fearing that it would lose its adherents, and that its parties would be broken up, was waging a bitter campaign against the International.

In a discussion in Parliament on the International a stream of invective was poured on the workers who wished to emancipate themselves by it. Lorenzo, in defense, said: "If the International be declared contrary to the law, the International will declare the law contrary to reason and justice." The menace of the government against the International kept the Federal Council alert. In order to be prepared, defensive groups were formed in every district, Lorenzo organizing those in the region of Andalusia. Later, in Barcelona, he did good work in the trade unions, bringing to bear all his intelligence and activity. He also contributed to the labor journals in Spain, and, in Spanish, to various foreign reviews and capitalist dailies.

As a consequence of the bomb explosion in Barcelona in 1897, Lorenzo, like many others, found himself persecuted and imprisoned in the ill-famed Castle of Montjuich for about a year. The sufferings he underwent are not for narration here; we all know of the bitter days in which "eyes were shut to right and justice." He was among those deported to Paris, whence he returned on the granting of an amnesty.

In 1909 he was persecuted by the ferocious reactionaries of the Maura Ministry, and fled to Alcaniz and Teruel with the family of Francisco Ferrer. His name will always be linked with that of the founder of the Modern School, to whom he was an inspiration and an enthusiastic collaborator in the great and glorious undertaking. In the founding of Ferrer's publishing house, it was Lorenzo who lifted the weight of the management from him, translating an infinite number of works to be published in Spain. Among them may be selected for their special importance: "Man and Earth," by Reclus; "The Great Revolution," by Kropotkin; "How We Shall Make the Revolution," by Pataud; "In War," "The New School," and many others. His own works show an analytic spirit, a high intellect, and a keen, relentless criticism of capitalist society, permeated with libertarian ideas.—*London Freedom.*

AN INNOCENT ABROAD

II

Kansas City, Mo.

I KNOW that MOTHER EARTH is about to go to press, and that I am much belated with my report. But, somehow, I have not felt like writing. And why should one write—or talk, for that matter—unless the spirit makes him?

Kansas City is depressing: the sky is drab, the air smooty, the streets haunted by emaciated and bedraggled unemployed. With thousands of jobless workers facing actual starvation, I have no heart to write of other matters. In Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis—everywhere I find the same situation. Thou-

sands, hundreds of thousands, starving in the midst of plenty. Surely the world is topsy-turvy. Civilization has so perverted our natural animal instincts that we prefer to die of hunger rather than to offend against the sanctity of property.

"Knowledge is power" is the most hellish lie. Surely not the pseudo-knowledge we absorb, sponge-like. We know everything except how to live. We have "learned" so much that life is made impossible. If we had less of false reason and more of true feeling, life would be worth while. For our "reason" spells fear. Feeling means imagination, sympathy. If the jobless worker had more emotion, he'd have more sympathy for himself and his kind. Enlightened feeling is power.

I don't know whether I reflected this attitude in my talk on "Modern Education" in St. Louis. I suppose I did. I spoke in the Assembly Room of the Public Library, before a large and intelligent audience, and I was much gratified at the interest manifested in the new spirit and methods of the free and harmonious development of the child's inherent qualities, as contrasted with the dominant mode of "educational" repression and paralization.

As a result of the lecture, a movement was initiated to awaken a larger interest in Modern Education (as exemplified in the Ferrer School of New York) and to organize a similar school in St. Louis. Funds are now being raised for that purpose, and if things go well, I am to return to St. Louis within a few weeks to open the second Ferrer Day School for Children in America.

Those interested in this plan should communicate with the temporary secretary, Minnie Fishman, 4151-A Laclede avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

It is cold and snowing outside. Scantily clad, weak figures shuffle past my window. If words could thaw out their frozen misery, and send the burning lava of their suffering flaming through the heart of a callous world—I would write and write * * *

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

January 27, 1915.

P. S.—My next stop is Denver. Address care of Frank Monroe, Box 1307.

RENEWED ACTIVITY

By EMMA GOLDMAN

THE renewed activity of our comrades in various cities in the East keeps us on the jump, ever since our return to MOTHER EARTH office. The organizations in Newark and Brownsville had great success with their meetings. In Albany, the comrades Mandel, Zuckerman, Sandler, Swirm, Caplan, and Phoenix, with the help of our old faithful, Leon Malmed, arranged two meetings, both attended by huge crowds, far exceeding the capacities of the halls. Part of the interest must be laid to the Albany newspapers and the police. The venom of the first and the vigilance of the latter brought back old times to me, when the papers used to write bloodcurdling stories, and the police ornamented the walls of the hall. Anyhow they helped to arouse enough interest to warrant a third meeting, and the organization of a Social Science League, which will now carry on systematic work in Albany.

In Providence, it was our old war horse, John H. Cook, with the help of friend Willand, who arranged the meetings. As the admission was free, large crowds, who might have been deterred by the excessive unemployment, attended the lecture. There, too, the interest necessitated a third meeting.

In Boston, the Freedom group, with comrade Block, as the principal worker, arranged a meeting. Unfortunately the hall was too small. The Jewish lecture, arranged by the Working People's Institute of Boston, was attended by a huge crowd.

After our two independent lectures, afternoon and evening, Saturday, January 30, we dashed back to New York for our regular Sunday lectures. The latter so far have been tremendously successful, and are increasing in attendance every Sunday.

If the requests for dates keep pouring in, we will soon have to revise the number and length of days in the week, but as long as there is a will and strength to help one sustain one's will, there is also a way to help our comrades in the spread of Anarchist thought, which now, more than ever, needs to be brought to the attention of the people.

PROCLAMATION!
TO THE CITY OF CHICAGO

The Unemployed of Chicago do hereby make a statement on the incident of the "Mass Meeting" of the Unemployed held at the Hull House January 17th, 2 P. M., which resulted in a brutal attack upon defenseless men and women by the police of this city. Under Constitutional guaranty of "free assemblage and free speech" we met to discuss our deplorable conditions. The sentiment of the said meeting was for the getting out on public streets to expose our misery to the world; misery imposed upon us through no fault of our own!

We, the Unemployed, consider it a crime of civilization that millions of us starve in the midst of plenty, especially when we helped to create the "plenty."

Politicians, making stock out of our misery, reply to our cry for "work and bread" with "commissions." We cry for shelter; they give us "municipal flops" inadequate to shelter one-tenth of the homeless of this city.

American citizens once proud are today being humiliated on "bread lines" and "soup kitchens." Hungry, shivering in the cold, standing in line waiting for a "hand-out." The flag that once waved over an independent people is today waving over a nation of paupers.

We, the Unemployed, who have not lost our manhood, demand work; and shall persist in the right to demand the same in hall or street, as we think fit. Let the voice of the hungry be heard!

It is useless to talk about "permits from the police" to parade in the streets. The police will not issue permits to hungry men. If the police of this city think they can repress the hungry with club, blackjack and bullet they have another think coming. Hunger knows but one law, and that is the law of self-preservation. Violence breeds violence! We are human.

THE UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE.

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

FEMINISM IN AMERICA

By R. A. P.

THE idea of feminism is one which has of late been so persistently dinned into the ears of the American that the unwary may be led to believe that it embodies a program of freedom for women. As a matter of fact, our American feminists are the exponents of a new slavery. Though the very basis of this idea is, obviously, founded upon the bisexual character of the human race, these ardent ladies are the bitterest and most uprighteous opponents of those very functions that seem most adequately to indicate such bisexuality. These functions are, we may conclude from the opinions of the eminent Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman—widely heralded as "our leading American feminist"—a wicked and immoral afterthought, pushed into the foreground of consciousness by the lechery of men. For in all her highly moral and edifying tales of "white slavery," cruel seduction and sinister grape-juice rapine, you cannot escape the continuous harping upon the universal, omnipresent sexual victimization of virtuous females by some low, vulgar male—who is usually, however, brought to "justice" by some highly efficient feminist—in one case the detective mama of the mammalian male himself! All sexual activity must be sanctified by law and sterilized by respectability. In the name of "humanism" the American feminist would prevent and in every way increase the inhibitions to sexual expression.

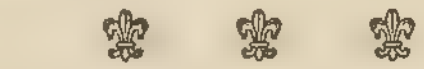
Such prudery and hypocrisy could bloom and flourish only in the soil of American "culture." They present a curious contrast to the attitude of the earlier feminists of Europe, with whom we may or may not agree, but who had, at least, the honesty and frankness to realize and to point out that the freedom of women must mean initially the freedom of their bodies. So strong this conviction has been that in the Woman's Congress of 1905, as in practically all of their writings, these women claimed the right of abortion, and advocated the abolition of all punishment for abortion except when performed against the will of the pregnant woman herself. Such activity was of importance and value because it tended to

emphasize the fact that the true enemies of woman are not men individually, but the corrupt and enslaving forces of the State—representing the industrial masters, the Church, Morality, Custom.

But note the evasion of this problem of the freedom of the body in the works of our leading American feminists—in the pages of Mrs. Gilman's "Forerunner" or in the glib and diffuse ramblings of one Beatrice Hale's "What Women Want"—an interpretation of feminism recently published. These ladies—and if they are not representative, they should be immediately corrected—align themselves squarely with the good old forces of Respectability. They grow eloquent over "work" and "economic independence"—revealing a pathetic detachment from the woman who does work, who might tell them something of the "glory of Labor." They would open all careers to women; but it is painfully evident that they desire only well-paid servile posts of the middle class, that they wish to become only the clean-handed slaves of the State, the Charities, the Churches, and the "captains" of industry. But these champions of chastity and feminism might profitably ask the victims of organized morality whether the cruelty they may have suffered from men has ever equalled that of these female charity and correction experts, these eminent feminists who conduct reformatories and supervise jails and prisons. In a word, whatever so-called feministic progress has already been made has only strengthened and broadened the systematic interference of the Government and the Church with the lives of their victims. This is strikingly the case in the "political freedom" in those States where women have been given the ballot—a "freedom" that has in not a few cases concentrated its activity into the hounding and persecution of other women—prostitutes—note the Redlight Abatement Act in California.

This alliance of the feminists with all the forces that have been the most determined enemies of the working people, of the poor and disinherited, is unconsciously but clearly brought out in Mrs. Hale's book. This book makes it strikingly and curiously evident that American feminism is a by-product of the middle-class habit of thought, instead of being, as it claims, a vital and cre-

ative force. Its shallowness and sterility—its failure to strike the fundamental note of human freedom and development—render American feminism of no interest except as an amusing and typical instance of feminine intellectual homosexuality.



WAR AND CAPITALISM

By PETER KROPOTKIN

III.

WAR AND INDUSTRY

We have seen in the preceding chapter that industrial rivalries and the desire of acquiring new markets for the export of home-made products are the chief cause of wars in modern times. Let us now see how in modern industry the States create a class of men interested in turning nations into armies, ever ready to hurl themselves at one another.

There are now, as we know, immense industries giving work to millions of men, and existing for the sole purpose of producing war material. It is, therefore, entirely to the advantage of these manufacturers, and of those who lend them the necessary capital, to prepare for war, and to fan the fear that war is ever on the eve of breaking out.

We need not concern ourselves with the small fry—with the makers of worthless firearms, trumpery swords, and revolvers that always miss fire, such as are to be found in Birmingham, Liège, etc. These are not of much account, although the trade in these firearms, carried on by exporters who speculate in "Colonial" wars, has already attained a certain importance. We know, for example, that English merchants supplied firearms to the Matabele when they were about to rise against the English, who were forcing them into serfdom. Later on, there were French manufacturers, and even well-known English ones, who made their fortunes by supplying firearms, cannons, and ammunition to the Boers. And even now we hear of quantities of firearms imported by English merchants into Arabia, which some day will cause risings among the Arabian tribes, bring about the plun-

dering of a few British merchants, and consequently British "intervention to re-establish order," to be followed sooner or later by "annexation."

However, such facts need not be multiplied. Bourgeois patriotism is already well known, and far more serious cases have been witnessed recently. Thus, during the war between Russia and Japan, English gold was supplied to the Japanese (at a very high rate of interest), in order that they might destroy Russia's nascent sea-power in the Pacific, which gave umbrage to England. But at the very same time the English colliery companies sold 300,000 tons of coal at a very high price to Russia, to enable her to send Rojdestvensky's fleet to the East. Two birds were killed with one stone: the owners of the Welsh collieries made a good business out of it; the shareholders and the directors of the Welsh colliery companies, taken from the nobility, the clergy, and the House of Common—every self respecting company has representatives of these three classes on its board of directors—increased their fortunes; and, on the other hand, the Lombard Street financiers placed money at 9 or 10 per cent. in the Japanese loan, and mortgaged a substantial part of the income of their "dear allies" as a security for the debt.

These are but a few facts among thousands of others of the same kind. In fact, we should be apprised of fine things done by the ruling classes if the bourgeois did not know how to keep their secrets! Let us, then, pass on to the next category of facts.

* * *

We know that all great States have favored, besides their own arsenals, the establishment of huge private factories, where guns, armor-plates for ironclads of lesser size, shells, gunpowder, cartridges, etc., are manufactured. Large sums are spent by all States in the construction of these auxiliary factories, where the most skilled workmen and engineers are to be found gathered together, ready to fabricate engines of destruction on a great scale in case of a war.

Now, it is perfectly evident that the direct advantage of those capitalists who have invested their capital in such concerns lies in keeping up rumors of war in order

to persuade us that armaments are necessary, and even spreading panic if need be. In fact, they do so.

If the chances of a European war sometimes grow less, if the ruling classes—though themselves interested as shareholders in great factories of this kind (Anzin, Krupp, Armstrong, etc.), and in great railway companies, coal mines, etc.—require pressing in order to make them sound the war-trumpet, they are compelled to do so by Jingo opinion fabricated by means of newspapers, and even by preparations made for insurrections.*

* These lines were written and published in the *Temps Nouveaux* in the Summer of 1912. The striking revelations of Liebknecht, concerning the ways in which rumours of coming wars are spread in the Press by the owners of armament factories, and national hatred fostered in order to increase the orders for war material, have come since to illustrate on a grand scale this dominant feature of the present-day industry.

In fact, does not that prostitute, the Press, prepare men's minds for new wars? Does it not hasten on those wars that are likely to break out? And in this way does it not compel the Governments to double, to treble their armaments? For example, did we not see in England, during the ten years preceding the Boer War, the great Press, and especially the illustrated papers, artfully preparing the people's minds for the necessity of a war, in order to "arouse patriotism"? To this end no stone was left unturned. With much noise they published novels about the next war, in which we were told how the English, beaten at first, made a supreme effort, and ended by destroying the German fleet and establishing themselves in Rotterdam. And English nobleman spent large sums of money that a patriotic play might be acted all over England. The play was too stupid to pay, even in second-rate theatres, but its production played into the hands of those money-makers and politicians who intrigued with Rhodes in Africa that they might seize the Transvaal gold mines and compel the black natives to work in them.

Forgetting the past, these self-styled "patriots" even went as far as reviving the cult of England's sworn enemy, Napoleon I., and since then the work in this direction has never ceased. In 1904-5 they almost succeeded in driving France, governed at that time by Cle-

menceau and Delcassé, into war against Germany—the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Conservative Government, Lord Lansdowne, having promised to support the French armies with an army of 50,000 men, to be sent to the Continent. Delcassé, having attached undue importance to this ridiculous proposal, very nearly launched France into a disastrous war.

In general, the more we advance with our bourgeois State civilization, the more the Press, ceasing to be the expression of what may be called public opinion, applies itself to manufacturing warlike opinion by the most infamous means. The Press, in all great States, is controlled by two or three financial syndicates, which manufacture the public opinion needed for the promotion of their enterprises. They own the large newspapers, and the lesser ones are of no account. They are to be bought at such low prices!

* * *

But this is not all. The gangrene spreads far deeper.

Modern wars no longer consist of a mere massacre of hundreds of thousands of men in a few great battles: a massacre of which those who have not followed the details of the great battles during the last war in Manchurch and the atrocious details of the siege and defence of Port Arthur have absolutely no idea. Yet the three great historical battles—Gravelotte, Potomac, Borodino (near Moscow)—each lasting three days, and in which there were respectively 90,000, 100,000, and 110,000 men killed and wounded on both sides—these battles were child's play in comparison to modern warfare, as we saw it in Manchuria.

To-day, great battles are fought on a front, not of five to ten miles as before, but of thirty-five to forty miles; they no longer last three days, as was the case in the just-named great battles, but seven days (Lao-Yang) and ten days (Mukden); and the losses are 100,000 and 150,000 men *on each side*.

The ravages caused by shells, thrown with accuracy of aim at a distance of three, four, or five miles, by batteries the position of which cannot be made out, as they use smokeless powder, are unimaginable. The guns are not fired haphazard any more. The position oc-

cupied by the enemy is divided mentally into squares two-thirds of a mile wide, and the fire from all the batteries is concentrated on each square successively, in order to destroy everything to be found there.

When the fire from several hundred pieces of ordnance is concentrated on such a square, there is no space of ten square yards that has not been struck by shell, not a bush that has not been cut down by the howling monsters sent nobody knows whence. Seven or eight days of this terrible fire drives the soldiers to madness; and when the attacking columns, after having been repelled eight to ten times in succession, nevertheless gain ground by a few yards every time, and finally reach the enemy's trenches, a hand-to-hand struggle begins. After having hurled hand-grenades and pieces of pyroxyline at one another (two pieces of pyroxyline tied together with a string were used by the Japanese as a sling), Russian and Japanese soldiers rolled in the trenches of Port Arthur like wild beasts, striking each other with the butt-end of their rifles and with their knives, and tearing each other's flesh with their teeth.

The working classes of the West know nothing of this terrible return to the most atrocious savagery which modern warfare brings forth; and the middle class who know it take care not to tell them.

We were told that smokeless powder would render wars impossible, to which we replied that this was sentimental nonsense. We now *know* that with the return of modern warfare to the hand-grenade, the sling, and the bayonet, war has returned to the most barbarous aspects of olden days.

* * *

However, modern wars do not only consist of massacres, of massacre brought to the pitch of rage—of a return to savagery. They also cause the destruction of human labor on a colossal scale, and we continually feel the effect of this destruction *in time of peace* by the increase of misery among the poor, running parallel with the enrichment of the rich.

Every war destroys a formidable amount of all sorts of goods, including not only the so-called war material, but also things most necessary to everyday life and to

society as a whole: bread, meat, vegetables, food of all kind, beasts of burden, leather, coal, metal, clothing, and so on. This represents the useful labor of millions of men during decades; and all this is wasted, burnt, gutted in a few months. Even in time of peace it is wasted, in anticipation of coming wars.

As this war material, these metals, and these stores must be prepared beforehand, the mere possibility of a new war brings about in all our industries shocks and crises that every one of us feels. You, I, all of us, we feel their effect in the smallest details of our life. The bread we eat, the coal we burn, the railway ticket we buy, the price of each article depends on rumors relating to the likelihood of war at an early date—rumors propagated by speculators on a rise in the prices of all this produce.

The great industrial crises which we have lately lived through were certainly due—as we shall see in our next chapter—to the anticipation of wars.

Do not put Thought in prison.
It always escapes from it.
Do not kill Thought; it always comes alive again.

See! it has been hanged on every gibbet, it has been nailed to every pillory; it has lighted up all the gibbets with its rays, it has illuminated all the pillories with the fire of its haloes.

It has been decapitated, burned, tortured, crucified! Within walls, very similar to ours, magistrates, clad in the same purple and capped with headgear like the Attorney-General's, have crushed it beneath similar social thunderbolts in similar murderous periods, droned in similar inflections of voice, timed by similar see-saw gestures; for, in the midst of evolutions, revolutions, cataclysms, when all things change and when all things crash together, immovable human justice, everlastingly victorious on the eve and always vanquished on the morrow, keeps the same pose and the same physiognomy!

The jail for Thought is the ante-chamber of the Pantheon! And the magistrates cannot go out without passing the statue of one of their victims.

Christianity the Religion of Bloodshed

A naked analysis of the concepts upon which are built the institutions of christendom and which persist in all modern deterministic thought. The God or Law concept, with man as a worm or a machine—vicarious atonement, personal salvation, etc., etc., still fixed habits of thought among infidels, atheists, and radicals.

By LUKE NORTH in his magazine EVERYMAN

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Victims of Morality

AND

The Failure of Christianity

TWO ESSAYS

By EMMA GOLDMAN

TEN CENTS

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THE LITTLE REVIEW

MARGARET C. ANDERSON, Editor

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